

PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH

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this cord now that the child is big?' If the grown child finds it himself, he will ask his mother to throw it away. If it were thrown away while the child is still small, he would become ill. This is explained on the grounds that some evilly-disposed person might find it and make bad medicine with it against the child. I have often been shown such bits of shrivelled cord, covered with lime-powder, lying in the bottom of these receptacles, and been told to which child each had belonged. The mother will not sell or part with a lime-pot containing her child's cord, for fear it might fall into the hands of some one who would bring disaster on the child. 846

The placenta (*pem* or *piom*) is thrown on to a piece of areca-nut fibre and is shortly afterwards buried in the house, together with the membranes (*sōs*). A fire is made over the filled-in hole. If the placenta were thrown away into the bush some one might get hold of it and 'make poison' to kill the mother. It is noteworthy that the evil effects of carelessness with regard to the umbilical cord are thought to react on the child, those due to carelessness in the treatment of the placenta, on its mother.

If the child is born dead, the cord is not severed, but the body, with the placenta still attached, is buried in the house, near one of the side-walls. An early miscarriage, described as 'child not enough yet', is buried under the woman's bed. 766

Immediately the cord has been severed, the baby is taken up and all means are used to make it cry lustily. As soon as its cry satisfies the attendant women, it is put to the breast. When it has proved that it is able to suck, it is taken away again, and its head and face are moulded by one of the attendant women, by pressure exerted at the back, sides, and forehead. This procedure is called *totobin*. They like the back and sides of the head to rise perpendicularly, without bulging. In later life their method of trimming the hair is also designed to emphasize this shape, which is also imitated in their ceremonial figures. The nose of the infant is pinched, so that it will not be too flat. Flat noses are much disliked, and if extreme become objects of ridicule. The mother continues this moulding and pinching at intervals, whenever she happens to think about it. As far as my personal observation goes, I do not think she does it often enough, or with enough persistent pressure, actually to cause any alteration in the shape of the child's head such as might be described as artificial deformation. No extraneous aids, such as [846] 856 [302] [304]

856 bandages or a cradle-board, are employed to accentuate the effect.
 [854] There are no cradles; if it is required to put the baby down it is laid on a woman's hood on the ground, but this is not often done, and I do not think it lies on its back sufficiently to cause any occipital flattening.

846 The child receives only the most superficial cleansing for the first five days. Then it is thoroughly washed in fresh water. It may then be taken outside the hut, but its mother is careful to keep it out of the sun. There is a tendency on the part of young mothers nowadays to shorten the period of seclusion in the hut, which they must share with the child, but the old women do not countenance this breach of rule if they can help it. If the child is *tsuman*, i.e. [565] if its mother is a woman of rank, the period of seclusion must be extended to ten days.

LACTATION

853 In the absence of any animal whose milk can be utilized, the infant is entirely dependent upon its mother for this essential of its diet. In cases of the mother's inability to feed the infant or inability on the part of the infant to suckle, it usually dies. I did not hear of any cases in which the infant of a living woman was suckled by some one else, but instances are known to me where the sister of a woman who had died was feeding the dead woman's baby, having lost her own.

Babies are not passed round and suckled by different women at various times, as has been reported from other regions. While the child is small the mother keeps it with her constantly, taking it with her when she goes to the taro garden or to search for shell-fish on the reef. When it is a little older it may be left at home in charge of a small girl or another woman, but the mother will return to feed it. There is no attempt at regularity of feeding; it is generally offered the breast if it cries much. Some women have very pendulous breasts, but I have not seen any long enough to be thrown over the shoulder to a child carried on the back. I have often seen a woman bend down with her hands on her knees so that a child standing beside her could suck.

757 Women whose children die during the lactation period frequently suffer considerable pain from the retention of the milk.
 824 In the cases which came under my personal observation, nothing was done to relieve this, but in my collection of 'prescriptions'

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PERIODS OF CHILD'S GROWTH

856 THE following terms are applied to children at various ages:

Petats dialect.	Kurtatchi dialect.	English equivalent.
kukarik	hiso	Infant in arms, applied from the day of birth.
bdlat		Infant getting a little bigger.
gungum		Baby who can sit up without help.
sénsén	wdras	Baby who can crawl.
tdtd	pípit i kúnom	Child who can walk a little with support.
na la papdis	pípit a pots	Child who can walk without help, toddler.
plan atson	bái'i uúiz	Boy, general term (lit. male child).
plan hihtn	bái'i mon	Girl, general term (lit. female child).
kukuvf	hóvio	Maiden.

882 Of a girl arriving at the age of puberty, they say, in the Kurtatchi dialect, *mon tsi'tsi en nan ma*, or *mon tsi'tsi taputs nan ma*, both phrases meaning a female whose breasts are developing. Of a boy they say *no non datnu*, 'he goes to the bush', referring to the period of withdrawal prior to the first puberty ceremony. After he has been through this ceremony the term *upi* is applied to him, the same word as is used for the leaf hat which is put on at this time, and worn for some years afterwards.

TREATMENT OF BABIES

854 Small babies are petted and played with a great deal, not only by their parents but by everybody in the village. The only show of endearment which is permitted in public is that between a small child and an adult. I have never seen a child kissed in our fashion, the corresponding caress is to put the open mouth to the cheek of the baby and pull it away again. A much more frequent form of fondling is patting or stroking. A crying baby will be taken up and dandled up and down in its mother's arms. She will sometimes say to it: 'Tui, tui, tui, tui,' with a rapid trill of the lips which I could not imitate. If it continues to cry, it is usually given the breast. I have also heard the Melanesian equivalent of 'Father's gone a-hunting', which runs: 'Tōmus, tsi'namen to eb en i musin,

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taking his small son or daughter for a walk through the village, pointing out various things seen on the way, and giving their names. Adults do not, I think, purposely talk to children in the 'baby fashion' affected by many people among ourselves when addressing small children. But like ourselves, they are proud to repeat to one another what their babies can say, and they used to enjoy explaining to me what was meant by a childish attempt at some hard word. 868

I give a few examples of childish efforts at pronouncing some of the common words of the language: *ia* = *ien* (fish); *utwi* = *uir* (coco-nut); *dada* = *gag* (short for *ruin a gag*, water to drink); *uku* = *tamu* (taro); *u* = *gu* (pig); *kulil* = *kurir* (beads); *kuli* = *kuka* (crab); *pota* = *potan* (sun); *iwa* = *dʒiwoau* (moon); *tua* = *tsura* (fire); *dodo* = *isu* (sit down); *titi* = *tʃitʃi* (milk, or breast, said when hungry); *kāki* = *pāki* (carry pick-a-back). These were used by children of my acquaintance who would be perhaps between two and three years old. The speech of a child of four or rather over was quite intelligible to me.

Learning to walk.

Great interest is taken in the child's first attempts to stand upright, and it is helped in its efforts at walking by being held up with a sling made of the fibrous tissue that grows round the stem of the banana palm. The following 'medicine' is used to make a child learn to walk quickly: 868
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When it first begins to crawl, take the roots of the tree *Toankinon* (belongs to *Rutaceae*), scrape off some of the small rootlets, chew them with the betel-mixture, spit on to your hand and pull on the child's legs, then rub the saliva over them.

At the point when our children are crawling, these babies seem to go through a stage of 'running on all fours', with the knees slightly bent and the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet flat on the ground (see Pl. 12). They crawl as well, but as soon as their interest is aroused in something at a little distance from them, they adopt the other method which is quicker. Nomoin, the baby in the photograph (Pl. 12b), was my next-door neighbour and a great friend. He would be crawling about in the ordinary way, but as soon as he saw me would make for me on all fours as hard as he could. At this stage he had cut his central incisors in both jaws, and also one lower lateral, and there were signs of the eruption of the 145
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in which sexual incidents took a prominent place. The telling of even the most outspoken of these by small boys or girls gave rise to no comments from the audience, nor was it ever made the subject of a jest. 864

I do not think that any set and definite teaching on sexual matters is given to these children. It certainly is not part of the ritual attaching to the seclusion prior to puberty rites either of boys or girls. This was clearly stated by all with whom I discussed the subject, and it is obvious that long before the children reach the age to undergo these ceremonies they have already acquired a very considerable amount of knowledge, indeed it would be difficult for them to remain in ignorance, since sex forms such a commonplace of everyday life that the most intimate details can be learned in the natural course of things by listening to conversations, observing people's behaviour, watching animals, &c. There is no lack of directness in answering any questions a child may happen to put on the subject, and no suggestion that such matters should not be thought of or talked about. They recognize that sexual practices are hedged about with taboos that should not be, but often are, broken, but so likewise is almost every other activity with which they are familiar—such, for example, as eating or conversing, and, so far as my observations enable me to judge, all these aspects of life are taken for granted in much the same way.

MEDICINE AND MAGIC PERTAINING TO CHILDREN

Small children will frequently be seen wearing round their necks, waists, or arms, strings of leaves, usually of some plant having aromatic properties. Certain plants are known as *nibnib pi* 789
ba'i, flowers for children. These are liked partly because they 856 ●
smell nice, but most of them are also thought to assist the child's 824
growth. The bones of a freshwater fish (*kakau*) caught by hand 825
by men in streams in the bush are hung round the child's neck for the same reason, and hanging from a bit of fibre round its waist will often be seen a hollow tube which appears to be the dried nest of some bush insect. It is called *titi u re* and was described to me as 'the house of a little snake'.

There are a number of prescriptions in my collection intended to be used for children who do not thrive. Most of them consist of the leaves or stems of various plants rubbed or pulped and mixed with water, which is then given to the child to drink. Rather more 789
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789 elaborate than most of them is the following, especially intended
 ● 856 to strengthen a child whose mother has died when it is very small:

824 Take the stem of the creeper *asam* near the root (*asam* is *Lygodium dichotomum*, the root of which is used as a contraceptive; the essential quality in both uses is apparently the toughness and hardness of the plant). Take the leaves of the following plants: *worato*, *bahbak* (*Eleusine indica*), *takop*, *tom-tom* (these are both varieties of cordyline), *waras* (a grass, *Digitaria pruriens*), and a small plant with a blue flower of which my informant did not know the name.

Pound these leaves and the stem of *asam* all together into a pulp, by means of a stone. Mix with this pulp a little *owan* (red powder used for many magical purposes, consisting of impure iron oxide). Wrap up the mixture in a dried banana leaf. Pour a little water inside the bundle, leave it for a little while so that the water will take up the 'smell' of the leaves. Then squeeze the water out into a coco-nut shell and give it to the child to drink.

Then unfasten the bundle, take out the leaves, and rub the child's body with them, pulling out all its extremities, legs, toes, arms, fingers, each separately. Then put the leaves back into a bundle, tie it up very strongly with the outside skin of the stem of *asam* (the strongest fastening these people have, used also to tie together the planks of a canoe), and put the bundle carefully away in a safe place in the hut. Here it must remain till the child is grown up. If a rat eats it, another bundle must be prepared in the same way.

Medicines to make the child grow strong and big are chosen according to the size of the child. Most of the plants thus used have not been identified.

789 All of the foregoing may be used for any child, be it tsunaun or
 565 commoner. The infancy of a child who is tsunaun is further safe-
 852 guarded by a series of ceremonies which are either omitted, or
 856 performed with far less elaborate detail for a commoner. The fear
 of 'poison' and harmful magic is never absent from the thoughts of
 the near relatives of a child of rank, and every step of its way is
 surrounded by infinite precautions.

CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE INFANCY OF A CHILD

TSUNAUN

852 As the children who were born during my residence were all
 565 commoners, my knowledge of most of these ceremonies is
 limited to what I could learn from various informants. Some
 of the later ones I was fortunately able to witness. They are

302 from the standpoint of the unaccustomed observer. Other designs seen at various times included smears of red or white round the eyes, a series of white lines across the forehead or obliquely across the cheeks, lines of red dots, &c.

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[404] Some of this painting has more than a decorative purpose, e.g. a spot of red is put on each temple when starting on a journey, as a protection against the dangers of the road.

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856 Children's heads are usually kept covered with a mixture of *oin* and coco-nut oil, even if there is no ceremony going on. This is said to make the hair grow and to keep off lice. Some children have their hair rolled into little blobs with a mixture of *oin* and clay.

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856 At Baniu, a village about ten miles east of Kurtatchi, and a few villages farther east of it, but not—at least not now—as far as Tiop on the extreme north-eastern corner, a custom obtains of cutting very short the hair on the front half of the children's heads, and letting the back half grow long. This is done for both sexes. The front half is cut, at a feast, when the child is very small, perhaps two or three years old; the back half remains long for some years more, and is finally cut at a special feast, where the child is given pig to eat for the first time. The reason given to me for this method of hair-dressing is that it makes the child grow strong and healthy. My friends of Kurtatchi said it had never been done in their neighbourhood, although the two districts are in intimate and friendly connexion.

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543 The father of a boy wearing the *upi* will often let his hair grow long and wear it tied into a bunch at the top of his head (see Pl. 52). This is done because the boy may not cut his own hair; it also shows pride in him. His mother may refrain from cutting her hair short at the temples for the same reason, but does not wear it on the top of her head.

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765 A widow may not cut her hair, but makes it into blobs with clay, without paint, which is forbidden her until a certain stage of the mourning is ended.

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177 Hair is cut with a sharp-edged shell, usually a species of *Cyrena*, or, nowadays, with a bit of glass, except in the case of those few returned labourers who possess razors or scissors. These lucky ones will often be requested to use their acquisitions on the heads of their friends. Cutting is done in the village, usually on the women's verandah. No special attention is given to the disposal of the ends, which are either thrown away among the other rubbish

AESTHETIC ARTS

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304 The reason given for this practice is that if it is not done too
 [189] much blood stays in the body and the child will not grow big.¹
 On the girls, it is supposed to 'make their milk come up'. It
 [332] is also liked by the men. "They say: "That is a fine woman,
 she has good marks on her body"." Tapē (Pl. 69b) was mentioned
 —by a man—as one of the most beautiful girls in the village. She
 is a commoner and the pattern on her body can be used by any one.

304 Besides the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners there
 184 are also differences due to locality. The patterns in the list here
 given are used by the people of the north coast of Bougainville,
 as far as, and including, the island of Tiop at the extreme
 north-eastern corner, which also in other respects belongs to the
 same group. The Hahon people (inhabitants of the mountain
 district behind the northern coast-line) make a mark shaped thus
 SS in the centre of each cheek. The body is left unmarked except
 for a small ring on either buttock. The Kunua people have a line
 on each cheek, curving from the edge of the nostril up to the outer
 canthus, some ending in a circle on the upper portion of the cheek,
 just in front of the zygomatic arch. A child I saw, who looked no
 more than about eighteen months old, already had these marks.
 The coast people told me that the Kunua people put them on
 much earlier than they themselves did.

304 The following list gives the principal patterns in general use. It
 is worthy of note that the one called *lalōm* (Pl. 70b), used on the
 [515] back of the neck of persons who are *tsunaun*, is almost identical
 [171] with that placed on the foreheads of the Araha (chiefly) clan among
 the people of San Cristoval (Fox, 1924, p. 16).

NAMES OF PATTERNS CUT ON SKIN

304 *pipi*, general term for cicatrization.

192 *gom*, marks cut on the face. These usually follow the features to some
 extent, somewhat like the Maori tattooing, but much less elaborate.

lalōm, pattern on back of neck of person of rank (m. or f.) (see Pl. 70b).



lalōm



wabuin

¹ As far as I could learn, the presence or absence of these marks had no connexion with the fate of the individual after death, as reported for the SE. Solomons by Ivens (1927, p. 182).

538 OTHER BELIEFS: CHIEFLY CONCERNING

324 natives that the stones had been put up in times long past as
764 memorials to dead chiefs. No mention of anything of this sort was
made to me in the course of extensive inquiries, and I have no
means of estimating the reliability of the report thus passed on to me
at second-hand. It may, however, be noted in this connexion that
[171] Fox (1924, p. 288) reports that on some of the burial mounds of San
Cristoval there are stone pillars 2 or 3 feet high, the use of which is
quite unknown. One, over 10 feet high, and about 6 inches in
diameter, is described as 'evidently worked'. At one mound there
are two stone pillars, one of which appears from the diagram given
by Fox to be similar in shape to those on Buka. This stone was set
up whenever a woman was buried in the mound; the other, of a
different shape, was set up at the burials of men.

While not rejecting altogether the hypothesis that the stone
pillars of Buka and North Bougainville may be memorials to the
dead, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate a little as to
other possibilities in regard to their origin and purpose.

324 It will be remembered that both the Petats and the Kurtatchi
531 people, without previous knowledge of the patterns on the stones,
304 associated these with the designs which they cut on their skin.
While visiting Timputs I was told, in quite another connexion, of
a stone called Mukikimits, near Kowanis, on the north-east corner
of Bougainville, which is said to have marks on it like those cut on
the skin, and also the imprint of a man's foot. The ceremony for
the cicatrization of children is held at this stone. An unfortunate
accident prevented me from visiting it, so I do not know whether
it is another of the stone pillars or a natural formation. But the
mention of the marks upon it seems to indicate human handiwork.
The question now arises, whether the similarity between the de-
signs on the stones and those made on the skin by means of cica-
trices indicates that both may at one time have formed part of the
same ritual complex.

304 The reasons given to me for the practice of cicatrization were (i)
● 856 that it helped the children to grow, (ii) that it was considered
832 beautiful and attractive to persons of the opposite sex, (iii) that it
'made the milk come up' in young women.

324 The next link in my argument is provided by the ritual con-
778 nected with the stones at Tiop. There are several points of re-
semblance between this and the ceremonies attached to the stone
called Mubenoits. Both stones have 'children'. In both a pig is